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ABSTRACT

This report provides an in-depth description of an early (1965) Head Start classroom for 4-year-olds in Harlem, New York City. It is based on direct, in-class observation, but standardized tests and interviews were also utilized. The teacher is described in terms of her role in the preschool, and her behavior in interaction with children and parents. Description of the curriculum focuses on the gradual evaluation from unstructured free play to instruction and skill development. Curriculum is discussed according to three major objectives and their related activities: (1) introduction to traditional nursery school experiences, (2) fostering of self-awareness and self acceptance, and (3) promotion of language development. A detailed report of one aspect of the curriculum (use of books) is included for illustration. The discussion of the children focuses on their classroom behavior as they adjust to the preschool environment. Group divisions along sex lines were noted, as well as differences in activities and styles of boys and girls. The importance of individual differences is emphasized. The Harlem children were compared with a sample of economically advantaged children from Maine. Family makeup and home environments are described in four case studies. Finally, parent-teacher and parent-school relationships are discussed, with emphasis on the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of these aspects of the program. (DP)

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THE UNFOLDING OF A

PRE-KINDERGARTEN PROGRAM FOR FOUR YEAR OLDS

Ruth Ann Bouchard and Bernard Mackler

CENTER FOR URBAN EDUCATION

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September, 1966

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Preschool Education

The education of 3- to 5-year olds is no longer a subject of interest only to a few specialists and certain parents of young children. A combination of urgent need, new money, and fresh ideas has created a climate highly favorable to research and action.

The demand for more knowledge and better practice in preschool education springs from several sources. Children of poverty need help to break out of the cycle of inadequate education, low occupational skill, low pay. Many children in low-income and minority groups have neither adequate educational opportunities nor the ability to take full advantage of the meager opportunities they have. In addition, the last decade has seen a premium placed on the intellectual content of education, and people are asking why children cannot acquire significant intellectual skills before entering first grade and thus accelerate their progress. Recently the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association called for universal preschool education at public expense for 4- and 5-year olds.

In 1964 total preschool enrollment was 3,187,000 children, with 471,000 in nursery schools and 2,716,000 in kindergartens. The Office of Economic Opportunity began its preschool program, Operation Head Start, in the summer of 1965 and estimates that 550,000 children were enrolled in the 1966 summer program at a cost of $110 million to the federal government. In only 2 years this one new federal program increased preschool enrollment by 17 percent.

Although we know comparatively little about the effectiveness of early-education techniques, it is increasingly clear that the preschool child is an extremely plastic organism capable of widely varying intellectual behavior under different conditions of environment and training. Jean Piaget's monumental work and other studies of the reception of information from the environment, information processing, and language and communication all demonstrate that the preschool child is developing intellectually as he grows physically and matures in emotional and social behavior. A corollary conclusion is that inadequate stimulation at early ages results in long-term deficiencies in cognitive functioning.

We do not have enough scientific knowledge to design with confidence the kinds of preschool programs that will meet the needs of young children. More research is called for on several levels--in the laboratory, to analyze and understand the relation of those environments to development; and in different settings, to evaluate the effects of many different approaches to early education.

At the same time society will not wait. Preschool education will inevitably become more and more widespread, but it is too soon to systematize early education. Increased public financial support is necessary,

and it should be used to help develop the best of traditional nursery school education as well as radically different approaches. Television is an untapped resource, and its potential for early education should be fully tested.

A better understanding of the limits of early achievement--intellectual, social, emotional, and physical--is the key scientific problem in this area. Once we attain that understanding we will be able to decide on the appropriate objectives. At the same time, we should be sure our system of preschool education is broad enough and flexible enough to accommodate and test new ideas.---Lloyd N. Morrisett, Vice President, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

PREFACE:

The millions of dollars spent for anti-poverty programs emphasizes the already recognized need to evaluate enrichment and compensatory programs for pre-kindergarten children from economically disadvantaged areas. The general consensus is that pre-kindergarten experiences help the disadvantaged child, but little is known about the child himself--his personal experiences, unique characteristics and developmental patterns; specific details about such programs; and the appropriate curriculum needed for the optimum growth of these children. The existing dirth of specific and detailed information in this area blatantly magnifies the need for a close look at a pre-kindergarten program. The purpose of this survey was to do just that--to look, listen and to ask as many questions as feasible from as many directions as possible to, hopefully, provide detailed information about a pre-kindergarten program.

This report hopefully might give an accurate description of the evolutionary unfolding of a Harlem pre-kindergarten program, and also generally give insights into pre-kindergarten programs for Negro children in Harlem. We are aware of the gaps in our account, but we hope the paper will still give a reasonably accurate idea of what such a program is like and means--both for the sake of educators, school policy makers, and social scientists for whom the paper was written and for the sake of the children, parents, and personnel of the school in the Negro ghetto to whom we remain warmly attached and deeply grateful.

For greater and wider circulation of this paper the names and location of the school has been kept confidential.

We are appreciative of the continued support received by the Center for Urban Education and the freedom and encouragement they gave us to

pursue a comprehensive exploratory-type investigation. We are thankful to Colette Tobin who was kind enough to make several visits to the school and for her observations of the program and her candid opinions about it.

The senior author is especially thankful to a friend and colleague, Polly Armstrong Wass, whose interest, help and encouraging words were invaluable and inspiring when needed most.

Our greatest appreciation and thanks go to the people involved in the program--the school administrators, the teaching staff, the volunteers, parents and especially the children. It is for these Harlem children and all economically disadvantaged children that the work was carried out and is dedicated. It is hoped that this account will do them justice and help us come to a better understanding of these children and their needs.

On one side of Morningside Park lies one of the great intellectual and cultural centers of the world--Columbia University. And on the other side--the slums of Harlem. As you pass through the park littered with broken glass and derelicts, you can instinctively sense the changing atmosphere from intellectualism and hope to the tense frustration and despair of the ghetto. Ivy covered buildings are replaced by neglected brownstones and ugly tenement buildings that line the streets of Harlem by the hundreds and thousands.

Occasionally, the drab and dingy front of a tiny store can be seen between the squalor of two dilapidated buildings and here and there a vacant building stands waiting to be condemned. Discarded garbage, crumbling asphalt and the smell of urine are common, but perhaps the most startling and pervading phenomena one perceives is the quantity of people. Park benches abound with humanity of every description, age, and level of apathy.

Despite the matriarchal predominance of this economically disadvantaged society, often the unemployed male is seen caring for the small children during the working day. Able-bodied men walk the streets seeking adventure in a futile attempt to alleviate the boredom and monotony of their lives. Others just sit. Now and then, one will ask a white passerby if she is the welfare lady since he had not as yet received his check. Many others merely ask for a handout. This is true of young and old alike.

Vigorous, energetic and restless adolescent boys crowd the local public basketball court on school days and non-school days alike. Many are unemployed school dropouts seeking activity, while some are playing

"hookie" for a day or two hoping to find physical relief from the sedentary tasks and demands of the classroom.

> What effects does this environment have on the growing child? On his personality? On his intellectual developmental patterns? On his self-esteem, aspirations and goals?

Sociologists, anthropologists and educators are in agreement that the culture of poverty has detrimental effects on the growing child and on the frustrated adults that are trying to cope with these conditions as best they can. Yet, only fragmentary information is available about the nature of this milieu with many diverse and often contradictory opinions about how to minimize or eliminate these adverse conditions.

To combat and counteract the stiffling and often detrimental environmental influences of poverty on the growing child, the federal government put forth a massive national effort to provide instruction of pre-school age children from economically depressed areas. The program was called Operation Head Start and was initiated during the summer of 1965. Its main aim was to give disadvantaged children school oriented experiences during the summer prior to their initial entry into school, which would, hopefully, improve their functional level and better equip them to enter kindergarten or first grade in the Fall. As a consequence of this federal effort many local school boards introduced similar programs during the following academic year. In New York City, many pre-kindergarten classes were started during the Fall of 1965 to serve four year old children from economically disadvantaged areas.

The dirth of specific information about pre-kindergarten programs for disadvantaged children, inadequate instruments available for the measurement of change occuring in the child, and the lack of information

about the precise nature of these programs leave many questions unanswered. Perhaps a descriptive account of the unfolding of a specific pre-kindergarten program in an economically disadvantaged area will provide partial answers to some of the many questions, and/or give insights which will lead to the undertaking of studies that will eventually fill the existing gap in our knowledge of this far-reaching problem and concern--the effects of poverty on the growing child.

> What is a pre-kindergarten program? Who are the children that attend and what do they do there? What is the program like and what function does it serve?

Children come to the pre-kindergarten programs to play and should play "as play is the child's response to life." It is not only a response to life, but, in a sense, it is his life since play encompasses his work, his pleasure, and his frustrations. Play serves many varied purposes--it reinforces ideas, clarifies feelings, helps develop a feeling of competence, drains off anxious feelings, and helps the child gain a better understanding of himself, his world and of others. Play, for the pre-school child, offers an intimate and personal means of communication and cooperation at an age when socialization is rapidly taking place.

What is the program like and what function does it serve?

A good program provides each child with the opportunity for individual and group activity, and for quiet as well as vigorous play. A large variety of art media for self-expression are available and ample daily opportunities for experiences with literature, music, and science compose the essence of the program. Superimposedupon all of these

traditional nursery school experiences is the emphasis upon the development of language, and experiences that foster self-identity and a positive self-concept.

The primary function of pre-kindergarten programs today is to hopefully raise the functional level of low-income Negro children to better equip them to enter a traditional middle-class elementary school. Emphasis is on compensatory training and enrichment experiences.

Now, let us closely look at the unfolding of a specific pre-kindergarten program. Selection of the program utilized for detailed observation and comprehensive study was based upon the following criteria: one, a school located in an economically disadvantaged area; two, that no other current research was being carried out in the classroom to be studied; three, receptivity of research and researchers by the specific teacher of the program and the administrators of the school. Such a classroom was found in a public elementary school in Harlem, a Negro ghetto of New York City.

The bright, well-equipped kindergarten classroom of a relatively new public elementary school in a Negro slum was filled with a dozen, well-scrubbed, cautious four year old children and their concerned but suspicious parents on October 4, 1965. This marks the beginning of perhaps one of the most revolutionary changes in our public education--nursery education for disadvantaged pre-schoolers. Although the program was initiated to serve the most deprived children of the depressed community, the room was filled mainly with the children of the most knowledgeable and privileged citizens of the impoverished neighborhood. Even these adults were apprehensive about this new adventure in education, but

awareness that a good education may help their child move out of the culture of poverty gave them the courage to venture forth.

From the hallway, one could hear the quiet whimper of frightened children, the anxious voices of suspicious adults and the positive greetings and comments of an optimistic teacher. Before the end of the first session, most of the children were cautiously exploring the attractively displayed and easily accessible materials of the classroom. Some actively, by walking around the room and manipulating the materials; others passively, with their eyes and ears while sitting or standing close to their mothers, while a few remained in the hallway but showed their interest by occasionally peeking from behind their mother's skirts.

After a few days most of the children were able to remain alone in the classroom for the two and a half hour session. However, a few still needed mother close by. With the latter, the teacher encouraged their mothers to remain in the classroom and tried to help them understand what was happening to their children. Eventually all of the children were able to remain in the classroom independent of parent or guardian.

After having gained the interest of the children, the teacher introduced routines and a general schedule of activities. The main goal of establishing consistently carried out and reinforced routines was to help the children help themselves. These children readily accepted and quickly learned the daily routines of dressing, going to the bathroom, washing and cleaning up. Self-help was continuously encouraged and praised by the teacher. As we all know, children of this age can do many things on their own if they are given the proper guidance, encouragement and the opportunity to tackle tasks that are challenging, yet at a

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level where success can readily be achieved. The inner feeling of satisfaction that accompanies the ability of a young child to accomplish a task can contribute to an enhanced feeling about himself. This was often implicitly observed with these children as they achieved success--joyfully they shared their accomplishment with the teacher, other adults in the room, their classmates and later with their parents when they came for them at the end of the session. Repeated achievements of everyday tasks seemed to make the children less apprehensive and more eager to explore foreign materials and facilitate participation in new activities.

The initial goal of setting up a tentative schedule of activities was to help with the establishment of routines and to give the children a certain amount of security in knowing what to expect from activity to activity and from day to day. The schedule was a rough guideline rather than a strict program of activities to be closely followed. It changed according to the evolving curriculum throughout the year to, hopefully, better meet the rapidly changing needs of the children.

The daily routines were seemingly very easily established and readily accepted by the children. Several important factors seemed simultaneously in operation facilitating this accomplishment. The prevalent task orientation of the children, their desire to play with the colorfully intriguing and appealing toys and materials, the play-centered curriculum of the initial weeks, and the warm and accepting attitude of the teacher. The following few paragraphs written by the teacher of this pre-kindergarten class for the school newspaper, vividly expresses her philosophy of children and teaching.

"A child's world is filled with activities of wonder, beauty and exploration. For each activity the teacher aims to develop the basic human needs of each child through the voluntary participation of the child. Some of these needs are security, success, and a sense of belonging, recognition, satisfaction and new experiences.

The teacher must be a helper and a guide for each child. She must help each child learn to get along with others, assist each child in learning to use materials, provide a setting in which each child can express himself competently, teach each child to follow directions, listen intelligently, encourage good health and safety habits, foster the development of new skills and interests.

We the pre-kindergarten teachers are often told by the parents of non-attending children, that our children learn nothing in school and "just play." Children come to play and should play for it is through a child's play world that learning takes place."

THE TEACHER:

With young children the teacher assumes a monumental role for it is she who establishes the all important atmosphere of the classroom where wholesome attitudes about self and the school may or may not evolve.

This year we had the good fortune of observing a teacher who has many of the qualities and strengths that we consider to be essentially beneficial in working with disadvantaged pre-schoolers. What were some of these qualities and strengths? What were some of her weaknesses?

The petite, young, attractive and energetic Negro woman who taught this specific pre-kindergarten program has many years of teaching experience and received an M.A. in early childhood education from Teachers College, Columbia University several years ago. Most characteristic of this woman was her openness, enthusiasm and zest for life. Her frequent outbursts of spontaneous laughter as she observed the children at

play and her active participation in their imaginary play reveals her love of children and joy in working with them.

One of the most important qualities of a good teacher is the ability to assume the role of a student--a humble student who is at the periphery of the classroom (so to speak) rather than at the center of it. Only through direct observation can one really and specifically come to an understanding of the children one is working with. Periodical observation helps one see the level that each child has attained, and to recognize when help is needed and should be given. Only a person who is aware of the minute but important subtleties of each unique child can really approach individual children in a meaningful fashion, thereby fostering their optimal growth. This all important and necessary quality of observing children was one of Mrs. X's greatest assets. At the onset of the school year she frequently observed the children in order to more fully acquaint herself with them.

Prevalent among children from economically deprived communities is their negative attitude towards authority. Yet all young children need limits if they are to be safe. Of crucial importance here is the way in which limits are introduced and maintained. If the limiting is done with love and without humiliation, and the limits are clearly defined and consistently reinforced, little resistance will occur.

Clearly defined, firm and consistent discipline was the rule rather than the exception in this classroom. The teacher's firm disciplining was usually accompanied with a love for and an acceptance of the reprimanded child. This love was communicated by a hug, a pat on the head and/or a special smile. Occasionally Mrs. X utilized group pressure to

maintain discipline, but generally she personally took the child aside and worked with him individually. This teacher had complete control of her classroom most of the time. Chaos and lack of discipline were frequently observed when a substitute teacher or the assistant teacher took over the group.

Everyone liked Mrs. X. Not one child, parent or adult involved in this program ever communicated a dislike for this woman--this was not so for the other pre-kindergarten teacher. Mrs. X's appeal was largely due to her casual, accepting and open attitude. Her classroom door was usually opened and a welcome invitation to observe her class in session was forever extended to parents, student teachers and researchers alike. Openness and acceptance helped establish initial rapport with the parents. However, this overly friendly manner seemed to convey a lack of professionality which consequently interfered with the amount of work she could have done with the parents. During home visits, chit chat about trivia assumed greater importance than discussing the child she was working with. This teacher's desire to be accepted and liked limited what she was able to do for and with the parents.

To me, this overly friendly attitude and need to be liked are her greatest liabilities. Another limitation, but of much less importance, is her lack of thorough knowledge about the various areas of study taught at this level.

This woman has a great love for children, is dedicated to her work, and has a good understanding of their growth and development. Despite

her limitations, she is a tremendous teacher who is doing an excellent job.[1]

THE CURRICULUM:

The curriculum seemed to develop in response to the continuously changing needs of the children. Meeting new needs required a flexible curriculum organized around the developmental levels, spontaneous interests and cumulative experiences of the children. In addition to satisfying some of their immediate needs, the long range goal of the teacher was to create a meaningful learning environment that would maximally prepare the children for later formal learning. This was accomplished by providing the children with many varied firsthand experiences which were immediately utilized and later capitalized upon for more intensive learning challenges. The plan of the curriculum envisaged introducing the children to a combination of traditional nursery school experiences with an enriching compensatory orientation, emphasizing the development of language, self-awareness and self-acceptance.

Characteristic of the children, at the onset of the program, was restlessness, short attention span and inability to come together as a group. Their previous limited exposure to toys and pressing need to play with them and their desire to explore the many delightfully appealing materials and equipment of the classroom were clearly communicated by their ceaseless questions. What's that? What do we do with this? What is this for? When can we play? Can we play a little longer? Etc.

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[1]For details about the other personnel involved in this pre-kindergarten program see Appendix 1.

In order to best meet these pressing needs, a play-oriented curriculum was initially introduced. A large proportion of the earlier sessions were devoted to unstructured, play periods when the children were given free rein to explore the classroom and its materials at their own pace. Attention and work based upon individual interests and needs rather than group activities was the keynote of the early weeks of this program.

Throughout the school year the curriculum continued to possess the dynamic qualities that were evident from the very start. The play-oriented curriculum eventually gave way to one in which instructing and developing skills were focal. The comprehensive curricular changes affected all aspects of the program. Individual activities were largely replaced by group activities; unstructured, free play periods were converted into structured, goal-directed activities; and informal (haphazard) learning through personal experiences were utilized to develop skills and impart knowledge whenever possible. The teacher's goal of preparing the children for later formal schooling evidently permeated all aspects of the curriculum by Spring.

The following detailed description of one representative aspect of the curriculum as it evolved throughout the academic year illustrates the qualitative changes that transpired.

How were books introduced and utilized in this particular program?

As books are the main avenue for later learning, cultivating an interest in and love for them during the formative years of life is of monumental importance. Creating an interest in books was the initial goal of the teacher. This task was facilitated by the availability of

a large and varied supply of good picture books coupled with colorfully attractive displays of meaningful books.[2]

During the first month or so children were individually introduced to books by the teacher and/or the volunteer. This was made possible by the most advantageous use of the staggered arrival of the children. Upon entry, the individual child was taken to the library corner and encouraged to choose a book of his liking. Frequently the sharing of this self-selected book, on a one to one basis, with the teacher was possible. The children soon began to share their favorite books with each other and the adults in the room. This was followed by requests to have books read to them. Consequently, story telling and the reading of books was initiated. Many children gathered around the teacher to have their favorite books read to them. Also, interest in each other's books developed. However, at this point emphasis was still on individual exploration and manipulation of books.

The slow, clearly enunciated and highly dramatized presentation of the stories enhanced the quickly developing interest in books. This teacher was not only aware that these children were still in the process of learning the language, but she also realized that many words in the text were unfamiliar to these children. Words were defined, questions and comments encouraged, and much related discussion occurred with most of the readings.

Everyday more children voluntarily joined the small group of interested listeners. Eventually most of the children eagerly gathered to

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[2]For details on the equipment see Appendix 2.

listen to the teacher read their favorite books. By January, the remaining outsiders were encouraged to join this "reading" group, and the rule that all children were to participate in this group activity was established. The children's attention span had increased tremendously since the onset of the year. Most of them were now able to listen to the reading of three and four stories in succession, whereas at first they were unable to listen to one complete story.

During the month of March, drastic changes in the functional use of books and story telling occurred. Books were no longer read for pleasure and/or entertainment but rather to instruct and impart knowledge. The children's favorite self-selected stories were replaced by books chosen by the teacher to present information about the world around them and the people in it.

The teacher's desire to prepare the children for later formal schooling interfered with her initial goal of cultivating an interest in and love for books. Although their attention span continued to increase, enthusiasm diminished and interest at times seemed to wane. Restlessness and inattention during the reading of books was occasionally observed. Now more discipline was needed than earlier. This can be quite easily understood. Who likes to be constantly bombarded with new information?

The tempo of the classroom was accelerated and the atmosphere altered by the pervading emphasis on instructing, imparting knowledge, and developing school oriented skills. At the end of the school year, individual interests, needs, and curiosity suffered with the stress upon group activity and group instruction. The pressure for group conformity was unconsciously exerted by this highly motivated teacher. Her ambitious

desire to prepare the children for later formal schooling blinded her of their immediate needs. The progress made by the children was misinterpreted as readiness for more advanced work. The stress laid upon advanced learning deprived the children of the necessary time required to assimilate and incorporate the new knowledge they were continuously bombarded with from all sides. This rapid pace seemed to put a damper upon the children's experiences during the latter part of the year. Yet, the children continued to like school and to verbalize it.

In summary, the year's curriculum attempted to (1) introduce the children to traditional nursery school experiences, (2) foster self-awareness and self-acceptance, and (3) promote language development. These goals were achieved through the following activities:

1. Traditional Nursery School Experiences:

Individual and group experiences with the following activities: easel and finger painting; collage construction; cutting and pasting of paper; clay modeling; block building; dancing; hopping; singing; experimentation with musical instruments; story telling; dramatizations; role playing and innumerable imaginary activities.

2. Fostering Self-awareness and Self-acceptance:

This was attempted through many activities, only a few are listed below: The use of one's own name was emphasized and utilized; mirrors were included in the classroom furnishings; photographs of Negro people at work and play were hung in the classroom; each child made a life-size paper cut-out of himself; games involving the naming and utilization of body parts were played; and each child was frequently praised, recognized and experienced success.

3. Promoting Language Development:

Some of the attempts made were the following: exposing the children to many varied listening experiences; playing games utilizing auditory discrimination; experience in storytelling and in dramatizations; frequent participation in group and individual conversation with opportunities to share personal experience.

EXPLANATORY COMMENTS:

For the reader's clarification, it should be kept in mind that the majority of the data were gathered by the senior author's daily classroom observations. Systematic information on each child was acquired by the administration of several individual tests given to the children in March and again in June. The tests utilized were the following:

1. Goodenough Draw-A-Man Test
2. Battery designed for Head Start
3. Sociometric Interviews

Gaining further insight into the individual children of this economically deprived community was the main purpose for giving the tests to the children. Trends were noted and description emphasized, revealing insight into the characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of these children, and will be discussed in this section of the account.

Only thirteen of the fifteen Negro children enrolled in the program are included in this discussion, because two youngsters were not available for retesting in June. One dropped out of the program in April; the other refused to cooperate in the June testing. The latter is a withdrawn, seemingly frightened little girl.

The large Negro ghetto of Harlem encompasses the smaller economically depressed community where all of the thirteen children included

in this section live. Only two of these children come from welfare assisted families who are fatherless. An additional two children come from financially independent but fatherless families. The remaining nine children come from financially self-sufficient, intact families.

For gross comparison, the Draw-a-Man Test and the Head Start Battery were given to a group of "more privileged" children from a Maine community. Children of the same age with and without nursery school experience were chosen as a comparison group. All of these children come from intact families--the fathers of the five children without nursery school experiences are blue collar workers (e.g., carpenters, mechanics); the fathers of the five children with nursery school experiences are military personnel with a college education.

Trends noted in the Maine children that differ or agree with the Harlem children will be briefly included in the account to hopefully give greater insight into "our" children. Throughout the paper, it must be firmly kept in mind that the children from Harlem are the ones we are trying to more fully understand.

THE CHILDREN:

The typical four year old child brags, boasts, bosses, defies and vigorously asserts himself. His expanding sense of self and rapid, multi-faceted development accounts for his vivacious, inconsistent, sometimes violent and always fascinating behavior. At this age, acculturation assumes great importance and learning now takes precedence over maturation. Keen awareness of his rapidly expanding environment is expressed through dramatization and imaginary play activities--dressing up and acting like grown-ups are especially enjoyed. Through these

activities, he indicates how he sees the world and what it means to him, including the fears and anxieties that temporarily preoccupy his mind.

Children of this age like nursery school and want to attend. However, it must be remembered that the central and most important environment is the one provided by his family. His parents determine to a large extent what experiences he will have and the significance of these experiences by the attitudes they convey. And these attitudes build the framework through which the child views the world.

What were the four year old children enrolled in this program like at the onset of the year? What were some of their immediate needs, interests and concerns?

At the onset of the year, these children were unable to come together as a group. This inability can partially be accounted for by the short attention span, restlessness, high activity level and lack of group experience that was prevalent among this group of children. Furthermore, introducing them to structured nursery school activities was almost impossible as their overwhelmingly urgent need to play with the many intriguing toys available constantly plagued them. At first, their tremendous need to play seemed insatiable. And they were unwilling and unable to share anything they had claimed their own, with parallel and associative play, rather than cooperative play, prevailing. During the free play period, the children spontaneously moved into the expected age-appropriate division along sex-lines, boys playing with boys and girls playing with girls. The boys occupied the block building corner, while the girls busied themselves in the housekeeping corner.

The small, somewhat inadequately equipped but neat and attractive housekeeping corner fascinated the majority of the girls. Almost daily, five or six of the ten girls enrolled in the program spent their entire free play period (approximately one hour) in this area. Through assuming adult roles these youngsters re-enacted innumerable household chores and activities. Daily, all of the high-heeled, jewelry-glittering little girls tried to attain the all-important role of mother. But Roberta somehow always managed to assume this most highly valued and prestigeous position during the initial weeks. This loud, bossy, domineering girl, who is the biggest child of the group, set the tempo and geared the mode of play. As food was her main preoccupation, all initial activities revolved around the preparation and eating of imaginary meals. Day after day these little girls re-enacted the same chores and household tasks with little variation except when several frequently recurring themes interrupted. The pervading themes of apartment burgularies and fires were vividly and elaborately re-enacted by the children, undoubtedly revealing some of their fears and concerns. More than any other activity, these re-enactments involved almost all of the children (the boys were called upon to help as policemen or firemen, or they were the instigators as robbers) and unleashed great excitement, loud cries and much running around.

Several months passed before any protest was made by the other girls about Roberta's continuous attainment of the mother role. Only then did the teacher intervene by appointing a specific child for this role from day to day. Nevertheless, the mode of play was still largely managed and controlled by Roberta and the activities continued along the established patterns.

Only when the play-oriented curriculum was replaced by one in which instructing and developing skills became focal did change occur in the housekeeping corner. Limited time to pursue household tasks and chores was then available as individual activities were largely replaced by group instruction, and unstructured, free play periods converted into structured, goal-directed activities. Furthermore, the girls that were forever in the doll corner were now forbidden to play in that area, hoping this would force them into exploring other areas of the classroom. Despite these curricular changes and the limitations placed upon them, their interest in this area remained high throughout the entire school year.

On the other hand, the five boys enrolled in this program were generally attracted to the block building corner. Almost daily the boys sought activities in this area but with them, individual and parallel play rather than associative play dominated. At this age, is individual play more characteristic of boys than of girls? Or does the fact that there were only five (four at first) boys in this group partially explain this difference? In this case we feel that the latter question assumes greater importance than the former one. The relatively well-equipped block corner is large enough for the simultaneous construction of three or four structures and an ample supply of blocks was usually available to all the builders. Whereas, in the small and inadequately equipped housekeeping corner, sharing and playing associatively was forced upon the girls due to the type of activities they engaged in, the limited materials available and the small space provided. Another important factor which may contribute to the fact that the boys engaged in more

solitary and parallel play than the girls did is the poor attendance of these children. Frequently there were only one or two boys present, while there were usually at least six or seven girls. (See Appendix 3 for the Attendance Record.) Furthermore, the boys did not seem to be as attracted to the block building corner as the majority of the girls were to the housekeeping corner. Occasionally some of the boys joined the girls in their play activities, and frequently they explored the other areas of the room--such as the library, science and art areas.

In addition to the two main groups established along sex lines, there were several children who engaged in isolated, solitary play. Eventually these few children moved into associative play, some by pairing off with one another, others by joining the activities of the two larger groups. Quiet, soft-spoken and somewhat submissive were characteristic of the five children (2 boys and 3 girls) who engaged in much solitary play. It seemed to take them much longer than the other children in the program to become an integral part of the whole. However, they appeared to be very happy in pre-kindergarten, participated in structured group activities and expressed a liking for and desire to attend school.

Why do some children engage in such solitary play? This question is not an easy one to answer. Yet a few speculative reasons will be put forth that seemed operative in these few children who engaged in solitary play. The purpose here is not to answer the question, but rather to impress upon the reader that not all children who engage in solitary play are withdrawn, frightened, socially inept children who are rejected by their peers, although this may be true of some.

An extremely important contributing factor is individual differences. Regardless of his background, the unique needs, goals, desires, anxieties and fears of the child profoundly affects his behavior. For example, Kerry, a well-liked and accepted child, frequently engaged in solitary play. At the onset of the year, building elaborate structures in the block building corner occupied most of her free playtime. Her activities almost always seemed to be goal-directed and purposeful. Frequently, self-directive comments accompanied her play revealing her goal and the steps she planned to take to achieve it. This little girl did not seem to have the tremendous need "to play with toys" that many of the other children enrolled in this program seemed to have. In addition, her long attention span and calm, placid disposition enabled her to remain with one task for an extended period of time. Undoubtedly, being an only child, from a rich and stimulating home environment, partially explains her behavior. (Details about Kerry Banks' home environment are included in the section on parents.)

In contrast, Mark, who seemed frightened most of the time during the initial weeks, also engaged in much solitary play. However, his activities were of short duration and did not seem goal-directed. Often he would stop whatever he was doing to watch the other children play. Although attracted by their activities, he seemed afraid to join them. Eventually, he made crude and awkward attempts to join two of the boys that were then frequently building together, but their rebuffs kept him away. This little boy seemed desirous to play with other children, but his social immaturities, limited group experience, and insecurity obviously influenced his choice to participate in solitary play. What

was his home environment like? Mark is the third child of four children who are being reared by their poor, elderly paternal grandparents. (For details about Mark Monroe's home environment consult the section on parents.) Taking into consideration this home situation, his classroom behavior becomes more meaningful and can be more readily understood.

Whenever we observe pre-school children to try and understand their behavior, we should always keep in mind that at this age the central and most important environment is the one provided by his family. However, knowing the home situation does not give us all the answers as it is how the child himself perceives his environment that is of crucial importance. Genetic endowment, intra-uterine influences operating during gestation, influences becoming operative in the course of delivery, and all cumulative experiences influence the child's perception of his world.

Since human development is such an intricate and complex process, understanding the young child is extremely difficult; therefore, every possible avenue available should be utilized. This exploratory investigation attempted to accomplish this goal through daily observations, individual testing, home visits, interviewing parents and classroom personnel and by assisting on field trips and school activities.

One of the more interesting and informative avenues utilized in trying to understand these children was the individual testing conducted in March and again in June. Let us now look at the ideas, insight and impressions gained by this experience and revealed by these test results. General trends noted, rather than specific test scores, will be presented and discussed.

Testing the children provided several opportunities to interact on a one to one basis with each child. Through these private sessions the tremendous individual differences among these children was repeatedly emphasized. One child sucked his thumb in between answers; another played with whatever test material was available; a third had to thoroughly explore the testing room before answering any question; a fourth immediately attended to the task at hand, while another needed to sit on the examiner's lap before engaging in any aspect of the test. More than any other insight gained from this testing experience was that these children, like children anywhere else, have unique and consequently, widely divergent approaches to the test situation. However, despite individual differences, there were several prevalent characteristics observed in most of these children.

During both the March and June testing periods all of the children, except for one shy little girl, eagerly expressed desire to go with the examiner. "Can I come, too? When is it my turn? Do you want me now? Can I be next?" were a few of the many questions of the excited children. In fact, the investigator had to exercise caution to prevent chaos in the classroom when picking up a child for testing.

Significant behavioral differences between the first and second testing situation were observed. During the March testing the following behavior was exhibited by the majority of the children: many wanted to stand or walk around the room, a few needed to sit on the examiner's lap (especially during the latter part of the test); all of them had very short attention spans which may explain their occasional waning of interest. It became necessary for the examiner to repeat questions and

explain, over and over again, the directions for even the simplest tasks. As a result, administration of the Head Start test battery (containing approximately 150 questions) took over one hour per child. In June, however, the same test was completed in 30 to 40 minutes by most of the children. During this testing session most of the children immediately attended to the task at hand with interest and a relatively long attention span. They rapidly answered questions and did not need as many directions as earlier.

When trying to understand the behavioral changes that took place between the first and second testing periods, it is important to keep in mind that during the retesting the children knew what to expect and were familiar with the test items. Also, at this point, they were accustomed to sitting still for extended periods of time due to the many curricular changes that had transpired in the classroom.

Before attempting to explain the behavioral changes observed in the children, we will briefly discuss prevalent trends as noted in the test results. Included in this discussion are only the thirteen children who participated in both testing sessions.

DRAW-A-MAN TEST:

All of the children very eagerly attended to the task of drawing a man. They seemed to know what they were supposed to do and each child handled the crayon quite competently. Many of the children seemingly enjoyed the task very much as they asked to do a second and some a third drawing.

In March, the number of body parts included in their drawings of the human figure ranged from 3 to 8 with a mean of 6.3; in June, the range was

from 4 to 12 with a mean of 8.0. (For details on individual children see Appendix 4.)

Although there is much distortion of the human figure and poor proportional relationship between the various parts of the body in both the first and second drawings, the latter ones are somewhat improved. This is especially true in two cases where the first drawings are completely distorted while the second ones are at least recognizable. Although the changes are slight with the remaining children there is, nevertheless, improvement in their second drawings.

The June performance of the Harlem children and the drawings of the Maine children are very similar in the number of body parts included. However, body proportion and relationship of body parts are much superior in the Maine group, including the drawings of the children without nursery school experience, than those of the Harlem group. The Maine children seem to have a much more integrated concept of the human figure and no distortion of the figure was seen in their drawings. (See Appendix 5 for representative examples from both groups of children.)

SOCIOMETRIC INTERVIEWS:

Within a period of two weeks each child before he joined his group for the day, had an individual sociometric interview with the examiner. Interviewing the child immediately after separation from his parent on arrival to school was done to hopefully elicit responses based on accumulative experiences rather than those influenced by a recent experience or a temporary reaction.

Rapport was established by allowing the child to explore the testing room and when he felt at ease, the following three questions were

asked to establish the environmental set:

1. What do you like to do best in school? Anything else?
2. Is there anything you don't like to do at school? Anything else?
3. Why do you come to school?

After accepting these responses the examiner requested positive choices with the following questions: Whom do you like to play with BEST in school? Anyone else? Anyone else? These questions were similarly followed by three questions requesting negative choices and the interview was concluded by asking the child whether or not he liked to play with the children whose name he had not volunteered.

All of the children gave spontaneous responses. For the majority of them it seemed easier to give positive choices rather than negative ones. A few children were reticent to give any negative choices at all. With some, eliciting a second or a third choice was difficult. Perhaps the inability to recall the names of their peers may partially account for this difficulty. When asked whether or not they liked to play with the children whose name they had not volunteered, immediate and definite responses were given for each name mentioned. These children not only had preferences but could verbalize them as well.

For both the March and June tests a sociogram was made from the positive spontaneous choices given by the children. The high status children of the March test--Timmy, Laura, Maxine, and Roberta--retained their positions in June. Similarly, the low status children more or less retained their low positions with slight variations. (For details consult Sociograms in Appendix 6.)

It is interesting to note that Timmy (one of the high status children), who usually pursues independent, self-directed activities, was preferred by so many children. On the other hand, Roberta, the self-chosen leader of the doll corner, despite relatively high status, was not the most preferred child. Laura and Maxine, the other high status children, along with Roberta form the core of the housekeeping corner. All of the isolates who engaged in much solitary play, held low status positions in March and in June.

HEAD START TEST BATTERY:

The Head Start test battery consists of 148 questions and tasks designed to reveal the pre-school child's general knowledge. This is achieved by recording his elicited responses and behavior. Individual sections of the test battery will be more specifically explained as the results are discussed in the following pages.

The main purpose for administering this test battery, like any other measures utilized in this study, was to gain further insight into the behavior of our study sample. The Maine children will also be included in this discussion to hopefully help us compare our pre-school group with other children. The overall general performance of the Harlem children was inferior to that of the Maine children both with and without nursery school experiece. Details about comparative results on specific sections of the test battery will be presented below and accompanied by a brief discussion.

PRECEPTION OF PEOPLE

When asked what various people in the community do, e.g., doctor, policeman, dentist, etc., both groups of children were similar in terms

of sentence length and vocabulary usage. One word answers, short phrase answers, and two or three sentence answers were given by both the Harlem and Maine children. However, the content of their answers differed. The essence of the prevalent replies of both groups is presented in the table below:

Category of Person	Essence of Harlem Replies	Essence of Maine Replies
Doctor	Gives needles.	Fixes you.
Policeman	Puts people in jail.	Directs traffic.
Dentist	Pulls and fixes teeth.	Pulls and fixes teeth.
Teacher	Learns and lets you do things.	Teaches you (with nursery school) Related to school (without nursery school)
Father	Works and hits children.	Works, plays and does things for children.
Nurse	Fixes people and sticks needles.	Fixes people and helps the doctor.
Mother	Cooks and cleans.	Cooks and cleans.
Soldier	Marches and shoots.	Marches and shoots.

It is most interesting to note that Harlem children perceive so many of these people as restrictive while Maine children perceive them as helpful, supportive and protective. What could account for this difference? At this tender age one of the prime influences on a four year old child is his family. And, in turn, the family is greatly affected by the larger community within which it lives, moves and interacts. Income levels, job opportunities, housing conditions and, not least in significance to mention, effect--all of these social and psychological factors partially account for the positive or negative influences upon the families and

consequently the children, with their unique perception of their world.

Let us now look at three aspects of the test battery that was directly related and integrated into the curriculum in the Spring. Although all three areas--body parts, colors, and geometric forms--were continuously and more or less equally emphasized in the classroom, they had varying effects on the children.

BODY PARTS:

References to various parts of the body were continuously made in the classroom. In addition, songs and games were sung and played which utilized the name, number and location of the various parts of the body.

Pointing to ten common parts of the human body, the examiner asked each child to give the name of each part, i.e., finger, shoulder, elbow, etc. The children were then similarly questioned as to the number of each of these parts they had.

All of the children did extremely well in this section of the test both in March and in June. Only one question gave them trouble. When asked how many toes they had most of the Negro children said "two" and a few replied, "five." As a matter of fact, body parts was the only area of the test where the Harlem children did better than the Maine children. They were also unable to tell their number of toes, giving a similar reply of "two" or "five," but they also had difficulty with "elbow," "shoulder" and "heel."

COLORS:

In contrast to body parts, test results and classroom work on knowing their colors did not coincide. Although colors were emphasized and

pointed out to the children almost daily during the latter part of the year, they still had considerable difficulty in this area of the test. However, they did improve somewhat from March to June.

On the table in front of the child the examiner placed eight crayons, red, yellow, orange, green, blue, purple, brown and black. One by one each crayon was pointed to and the child was asked to give the name of the color. For those questions the child did not answer correctly, the examiner would then say "give me the _____ one." In addition to the crayons, the color of six familiar objects was also asked, e.g., fire, grass, snow, carrot, sky, night.

In March, slightly less than half of the children were able to name the colors and about one-third were able to give the color of familiar objects. Although there was some improvement in June, only slightly more than half were able to name colors, while approximately half were able to give the color of familiar objects.

The Maine children did much better. Those with nursery school experience knew all of their colors and the colors of the familiar objects, while those without nursery school experience knew almost all of them.

Although parents of both groups want their children to succeed in school, there seems to be different approaches to their attempts to help their child. With the Maine children (at least the group studied), the school activities and home activities are more closely related than the activities of the home and school of the Harlem children.

Why did the children in Harlem excel in body parts and not in colors, even though both were stressed in class? In our opinion, the following two factors may partially explain this difference. The body is the most

personal part of the child and, therefore, of tremendous importance to his growing self-concept and sense of identity. Any reference to this precious possession by the classroom teacher would very likely be remembered by a child regardless of his background experience. Furthermore, these children from Harlem, like children everywhere, probably hear references to his body and parts of his body at home with such comments as "wash behind your ears," "don't forget your elbows and knees," "how pretty you look," "how alert his eyes are." Now consider for a moment the relevance of color names to the child. They are abstract, impersonal, and just something "out there." Consequently, they are not nearly as important to the young child as his own body and all of its fascinating components. And colors only become important as parents continually teach their offspring what colors are, how they differ. Colors are not, obviously, emphasized in the home, at least not before the children reach four years of age.

GEOMETRIC FORMS:

Four drawings of geometric forms were presented to the children, a line, a circle, a square, and a triangle. Each child was asked to name the form and then to copy it himself. Next he was asked to point to the form "most like a" wheel (circle), window (square), piece of string (line), tent (triangle), plate/dish (circle, stick (line).

Most of the children were able to name and draw a recognizable copy of the line and the circle, both in March and in June. However, with the exception of four or five children, they were unable to name and draw a square or a triangle in March. In June most of the children could

successfully name the latter two geometric forms; ten of the thirteen children were able to draw the square, whereas only four could draw the triangle.

Obviously, familiarization with the proper labeling of line, circle, square and triangle is directly related to school learning. These labels were greatly emphasized in this program with comments like, "put away your square mats," "stand in a straight line," "let's form a circle for this game," which could account for their knowledge of geometric forms.

Let us now look at the Maine children and see how they compare in this area. Only about one-third were able to name the geometric forms. However, all ten of the children could draw the square, and eight the triangle. When asked to point to the form "most like a" wheel, window, piece of string, etc., the majority of the children could successfully do this task without hesitation.

Why was it more difficult for the Harlem children to draw a square and a triangle? Perhaps it is due to their limited experience with crayons, drawing and coloring in comparison with their Maine counterparts. And this may also explain their relatively poorer recall of colors.

COMPARISON OF GROUPS OF OBJECTS:

A small, but important, area that gave the Harlem children a tremendous amount of difficulty was the comparison of two groups of objects.

Two groups of blocks (one with two blocks, the other with eight blocks) were placed side by side on the table in front of the children. Each child was then asked, "Which group has more blocks in it?" This was repeated with groups of five and six blocks respectively. This was

repeated a third time, but now with 6 blocks in each group. The last two groups of 6 and 6 blocks (the same) was the most difficult for the children. In contrast to the relative ease with which they handled the first two questions, not one of the thirteen children was able to say that the 6 and 6 groups were the same. In June, one child was able to successfully answer the question.

This entire task was repeated with the question, "Which of the two groups has fewer/less blocks in it?" This gave the children much more trouble than the "more than" question. Only slightly over one-half of the children correctly answered this part of the task in both the March and June testings.

In contrast, the Maine children easily and successfully answered all of the questions with the exception of the one with the two similar groups of 6 blocks each. Only five of the ten children answered this question correctly.

SEQUENCE OF OBJECTS:

A second area of great difficulty for the Harlem children was identification of five sequentially lined up objects.

A sequence of five blocks was placed next to each other in a row in front of the child. He was then asked to give the examiner the blocks of the sequence in the following order: the middle, the first, the last, the second, and the next-to-last. The majority of the children were able to give the examiner the middle and the first blocks of the row, but were unable to give the others. Not one child in the Harlem group was able to complete this task in March and only two did so in June. In contrast, seven out of ten Maine children were able to complete the task successfully.

What accounts for the wide difference in performance of the Harlem and the Maine children on these two last tasks?

These tasks require the ability to mentally work with two ideas simultaneously. This demands and reflects a high level of mental functioning. And the contrasting performances of the Harlem and Maine children seem to imply a different or perhaps a lower level of thinking on the part of the Harlem children.

GENERAL TRENDS:

Administration of the Head Start test battery revealed many things about the Negro children. They were able to follow simple commands such as "show me your teeth," "raise your hand," "say 'hello' very loudly," and "face the door," to name but a few. These children also had a good understanding of on, in, under, behind, large, and small. However, their concept of time was very poor. Most of them knew time in relationship to one day--that is, morning, noon and night. The majority of the children knew that there were different days of the week and could even name a few. But they did not know which day was which, what today was, or what day people go to church. Most of them did not know the names of the four seasons or what season in which the testing occurred.

Although the differences in performance between March and June was not significantly large, it must be remembered that there was improvement in most areas and tremendous improvement in their behavior while being tested between March and June. The short period of time between test-re-test, the fact that the children were not tested prior to entry

in the program, and the lack of a control group makes it difficult to directly relate change noted in the children to their school experience.

What were the children like at the end of the year? What were some of the changes seen in them? What may partially account for these changes?

The children as a group have grown emotionally and now seem more mature. They can sit in a group and discuss, listen, sing and play games together. Their attention span has lengthened considerably. They can now easily listen to three and four stories in a row, ask questions with an improved vocabulary which relate to the story being read. They finish one activity before beginning another. They are aware of a set schedule and go through the day with ease, following directions and signals well. The group is independent and responsible. They undress, dress, wash, toilet, eat, and clean up after an activity without assistance. Some individuals can now share toys and have a better idea of give and take. They now play better with one another and are more apt to help someone in need than earlier. The children now have a tremendous interest in the larger community. Although they enjoyed their earlier field trips, now they ask many questions during trips and are able to participate in a discussion about it upon their return.

What may account for the tremendous apparent behavioral differences noted in these children between October and June? First, let us remember that they are chronologically, physically, emotionally, and intellectually older than in October when they were only four. Most of them are now five. But what are five year old children like?

Five is a state of equilibrium, whereas four is a state of turmoil and rapid change. This more mature little child now likes to complete what he starts and knows how to conclude an activity. The greater decisiveness of the child is seen in the minimal amount of dawdling he now engages in as compared to earlier in the year. His almost self-dependence in everyday personal tasks of washing, dressing, eating, toileting, and sleep leaves him more confident, and curious to explore the larger environmental surroundings. He wants to learn about the world for he feels he can now gain mastery over himself. He is now truly ready for education.

THE PARENTS:

Like anywhere else, most of these parents love their children and want the best for them. Despite their relatively low educational backgrounds, many of them are highly motivated and interested in having their children succeed in school. This was clearly revealed by their replies when asked why they had enrolled their child in one of the four pre-kindergarten classes offered by this school. The majority of the parents felt that the program would help their children "to learn something," help them to do better later on in school, and provide them with experiences which they were unable to give them at home. However, their minimal understanding of growth and development and of the happenings within the classroom limits what they can do to help their children adjust and achieve in school.

Some of these parents volunteer many hours of their time (complete with younger toddler in tow) doing minor, but necessary custodial tasks

to help the teacher. Others warily shove their children through the classroom door and quickly slip away, while some remain anonymous for the entire year. The following illustrations of the home environment will hopefully provide insight into the variety of behavior exhibited by the parents. And these descriptions may also remind us of individual differences which are so often forgotten when dealing with these people due to the many overly broad generalizations which have been made about them.

Maxine's Family and Home Environment:

Born and raised in South Carolina, Maxine's grandmother came to New York as a young woman, married, and lived with her eight children in the same Harlem apartment where she still lives today. Her husband and three children passed away some years ago. Mrs. Greene is a small, attractive, light-colored Negro woman in her mid-fifties. As the head of a large matriarchal household, she outwardly shows the dignity and pride of her position. In order to help support her family she does domestic work on Long Island.

The rest of Maxine's extended family consists of her mother, four aunts and two cousins. Her mother moved back in the grandmother's home when Maxine's father was arrested and began serving time in prison for attempted robbery. She is currently unemployed but helps support the household by her unemployment checks. One of Maxine's aunts works in a print shop upstate, but lives at home periodically. She appears to be hard as nails with scars on her face, one eye reddened from a recent fight, and a hostile, belligerent tone of voice. Although she is only

24 years old, her tough mannerisms and compact 5'-3" body suggests her long, hard struggle with life. Maxine's youngest aunt is a quiet, well-dressed, twenty-three year old girl who is employed in downtown Manhattan. Maxine's oldest aunt sat in front of television and drank beer during the entire visit of the observer. As a result, little information is available about her. Maxine's fourth aunt is short, physically immature, and intellectually dull. She seldom joins in conversation and usually spends her time in front of television. Michael, her five year old illegitimate son, is the only male member of this matriarchal household. He is a small, withdrawn child who always seems to be saying the wrong thing when he does speak. Maxine's older cousin is a girl who was left with the grandmother after her mother's death when the child was six years old. She is now nineteen years of age.

What kind of home environment does this matriarchal household provide for the growth and development of five year old Maxine?

Next door to a crumbling, condemned building in the heart of Harlem is the dark, dingy, aged tenement building where the Greene family lives. Although the building is overrun by cockroaches, garbage, holes, and the stench of urine, their second floor walk-up is surprisingly clean and homelike. Another feature of their apartment that immediately strikes the outsider is the composition of its five rooms. Living room, three bedrooms, bathroom (off of the small hallway), and kitchen are all lined up in linear fashion, one behind the other. Moving from the kitchen to the living room necessitates walking through every other room in the home. Two windows in the living room and one small one in the kitchen are the only sources of outside light. The rest of the apartment is dark except

for a few lamps here and there. Largest of the apartment's five small rooms is the living room. Slanting floors and too many layers of old chipped paint reveal its age, but the shabby, old-fashioned furnishings are in reasonably good condition. The room is cheap and time-worn, but has an aura of dignity known only to the poor. Television dominates the dim room. Two armchairs, a couch, and several TV trays are the only furniture. Knick-knacks crowd the mantle of a non-functional fireplace at one end of the room and two caged parakeets chatter near the far window. The kitchen is also in keeping with the flavor of the apartment. It is very small and, like the rest of the home, long and narrow. Because of the cramped quarters only four people could be seated together at the aluminum breakfast table. Other furnishings include an old-fashioned sink, gas stove, refrigerator and four chairs. All of the bedrooms are just large enough to fit a twin bed and a bureau.

Mark's Family and Home Environment:

Mark and his three sisters, ages four, six and seven, are being reared by Mr. and Mrs. Monroe, their paternal grandparents. After both parents deserted the children, full responsibility was assumed by the elderly, financially destitute couple. Although the grandparents have love and concern for the children, caring for them obviously places a great burden on them, physically, financially and emotionally. Mrs. Monroe is very obese and suffers from chronic fatigue and high blood pressure. Mr. Monroe has been unemployed and bedridden with an illness since April, 1966. One of Mark's sisters is mentally retarded and the worried grandparents have been unable to receive any assistance for her.

The most serious concern of this family is the $75.00 that they receive from the welfare department. Each month all six members of the family must exist on this small amount of support. They have tried desperately to have this amount increased but they cannot because "they have a television set."

What kind of a home environment does this sick and elderly couple create for the growth and development of five year old Mark?

The Monroe's live in a crumbling, old tenement building in Harlem. Like Maxine's home, this small four-room apartment also has one room behind the other which forces the family to walk through each room as they move back and forth from kitchen to living room. There are no windows except for two in the living room which serves as the focal living area. All of the rooms are very small and cramped. Entrance to the apartment is through the dark kitchen. It has only the barest essentials, a refrigerator, stove, sink, and small breakfast set. Beyond the kitchen is a very small dark room which is the children's bedroom. Filthy mattresses, uncovered pillows, piles of dirty clothes and toys are flung all over the floor and onto the two tiny single beds. This is the only furniture in the room except for a broken cardboard closet with one door hanging by its lower hinge. The next bedroom is similar except for adequate bedding, a larger double bed and more light which spills in from the living room. The living room, although the lightest and least depressing room, is also very drab and dirty. Plastic drapes keep out some of the light, but the dirt and dilapidated furnishings are still very apparent. Holes in the walls and badly worn linoleum

provide the background setting for the only furnishings--a television, a sofa, two armchairs and a bureau.

Linda's Family and Home Environment:

Linda's mother is considered to be the most helpful parent of the sixty children currently enrolled in a Harlem pre-kindergarten enrichment program. Almost daily she remains in the classroom to volunteer her custodial services after bringing four year old Linda and her six year old brother to school. Mrs. Earl also brings her two year old daughter, Ellen, to school with her for the day, but leaves her one year old infant with unemployed friends or relatives. In addition to helping in Linda's classroom, she also assists in the afternoon recreational program available for older children from three to five o'clock, four days a week. She has been asked several times to receive payment for her services but she has refused because she would "lose her right as a parent."

Mr. Earl, a hard working laborer, rarely sees his children except briefly in the mornings and on weekends. His long working hours leave Mrs. Earl alone with her four small children much of the time.

What kind of a home environment does this woman and her husband provide for the growth and development of their child, Linda?

For the past seven years, Mr. and Mrs. Earl have lived with their four children in a well kept, but sparsely furnished four-room apartment in one of Central Harlem's low income housing projects. The relatively new building is dirty and smells of urine, but otherwise it is in relatively good physical condition. On the seventh floor is the Earl's

home. On either side of the linoleum-floored living room are two worn sofas. A small table and lamp stand at the end of one sofa. Near the far window is the only other piece of furniture in the room, a low bookcase with dog-earred paperbacks. The fully equipped kitchen consists of modern project-equipped appliances and a breakfast set with three chairs (for a family of six?). The only furnishings in the master bedroom are a badly sagging double bed, a television set and an old armchair. Dirty, torn curtains drag carelessly onto the floor about two feet. The children share another smaller room which is equally as drab. All four of them somehow manage to sleep in two single beds and a porter crib. A chest of drawers and a small child's table are the only other furnishings. A coloring book, old crayons and a few books are their only toys.

Kerry's Family and Home Environment:

In contrast to the above mentioned mothers, Mrs. Banks is a surprisingly well-informed, widely read and sophisticated citizen of this depressed community. Almost daily, she remains for awhile to watch her only child participate in class activities. This concerned and interested mother often verbalizes knowledgeable information about growth and development and about the worth and value of pre-kindergarten programs.

Mrs. Banks was one of the most outspoken mothers of all the parents who attended the PTA meetings. Undoubtedly, a tremendous amount of untapped potential community leadership remains dormant in this woman.

What is the life situation of this family like? What home environment does this couple provide for their only child, Kerry?

Mr. and Mrs. Banks, their daughter Kerry and a 17 year old niece live together in a large five-room apartment in an old neglected Harlem brownstone. Although the exterior of the building is rundown and drab, the Banks have converted their apartment into a comfortable, pleasant and cozy home.

The 17 year old niece is the daughter of Mrs. Banks' sister. Several years ago this woman was deserted by her husband and left with two small children to solely raise and support. Lack of education and skill forced this woman to take a job with long hours and little pay. To assist her sister and guide her adolescent niece, Mrs. Banks decided to take the teenage girl back to N.Y.C. with her for a year.

Materially, nothing seems to be lacking in this household. Their large wall-to-wall carpeted living room is nicely furnished with a sofa, two armchairs, a card table, a TV, a record player and a piano. The book shelves under the two large windows and over the fireplace are filled with magazines, newspapers and a large assortment of good children's books. The old but well-kept kitchen is complete with all the necessary appliances including an automatic washing machine. The two large bedrooms are adequately and similarly furnished with a large double bed, bureau and desk. Throughout the entire apartment Kerry's large, varied assortment of every toy imaginable, most of which are age appropriate, can be seen.

In order to provide Kerry "with everything she needs," Mrs. Banks sought employment. An evening position was chosen so that she would be able to be with her daughter during the day.

This family particularly enjoys going on little trips. These excursions are facilitated by the use of their new car. Almost every weekend Mr. and Mrs. Banks take Kerry to nearby places of interest--parks, zoos, museums, beaches, etc.

The few examples cited poignantly reveal the varied and uniquely different life situations that these people confront and must contend with. Unique needs and concerns cannot be glossed over when one tries to picture the family life and when one tries to work with families in this, or any, community.

THE TEACHER AND THE PARENTS:

In good parent-teacher relations, what is the role of the teacher? What are her goals? And how does she accomplish them?

The teacher views parents as a tremendous threat and also as a significant resource. She must be aware of this existing paradox if she is to establish wholesome working relations with them. She must also recognize and respect the all important and necessary role of the parents in the upbringing of the child and their influence upon his unfolding personality. She must accept the realities of the parent's life and try to understand and respect their point of view, however distorted or inconsistent it may seem, if she is to fully understand the child she is working with.

Good parent-teacher relations involve the cooperative attempts by both the parents and the teacher to work together in the interest of the child's growth. To insure this, helping parents become better parents assumes monumental importance for the teacher. Working towards

this primary goal, the teacher helps parents gain confidence in themselves as parents; she helps them understand the laws of growth and development, and informs them about what is happening in the classroom to hopefully provide further insight into children. In addition, the teacher must assume the responsibility of helping parents understand the function of the school and clarifies for them the roles of the various school personnel.

Initial rapport with the parents is established by the teacher, never as an authority or as a friend, but as a professional person concerned about the welfare of their child. Successful accomplishment of the above mentioned goals can be achieved through several direct and indirect avenues. Briefly, the avenues available to the teacher are as follows:

1. Daily contact with parents as they take their children to and from school.
2. Periodical individual conferences with the parents at school.
3. Occasional home visits made by the teacher during the school year.
4. Parent-teacher meetings.
5. Parental participation in school activities and field trips.
6. Teacher observation of parents who are observing their children in the classroom.

Regardless of what avenue is utilized for parental contact, the teacher keeps in mind her goals for working with parents, those of helping them become better parents. The responsibility of rearing children and of solving parent-child problems belong to the parents and the teacher should not attempt to take them over. However, through sympathetic understanding and sincere interest, she can supply parents with support which will help them help themselves.

Now let us return to our specific pre-kindergarten program. What was this teacher's relationship with the parents like? What avenues available to her did you utilize?

This teacher seemed tremendously threatened or confused by the parents. Her main objective in working with them appeared to be that of making friends with them. Initial rapport with the majority of the parents was quite easily established by her friendly and accepting manner and by the personalized daily contacts she made with the ones that brought their children to and from school.

At the onset of the school year Mrs. X. encouraged the parents of the shy and problematic children to stay and observe them while class was in session. Through this avenue she was able to help these few mothers gain further insight into their child and about the program. However, her desire to be liked and accepted by the parents interfered with what she was able to do with them.

Mrs. X. did not utilize individual conferences with the parents to further her knowledge about the children she was working with and to help the parents. Furthermore, she failed to effectively reach the parents as they participated in school activities and helped out with the field trips. The parents moved towards a greater understanding of their child, the program and the school on their own through their involvement with various school activities. So much could have been accomplished through the many casual and informal contacts made by the parents as they helped out with the various aspects of the program throughout the year.

Each home was visited only once by the teacher during the course of the year, and the majority of the visits were made during the last few weeks of the school year. Here again, this teacher's lack of purpose or vision for home visits came through for she avoided serious discussion of school and children. She seemed to be visiting because she had to, rather than because of a definite goal or reason. Aside from seeing the home environment of the children, very little else was accomplished. The short, casual visits consisted mainly of gossipy chit chat about trivia. We strongly feel that these concerned parents would have benefited from meaningful encounters with the teacher.

THE PARENTS AND THE SCHOOL:

The school's relations with the parents of the pre-kindergarten children were as inadequate and ineffective as those of this specific teacher.

Seven months elapsed before the school made any contact with the parents. An impersonal mimeographed announcement regarding a parent-teacher meeting was the initial approach made by the school to reach and/or communicate with these parents. Through the parents, guardians and older siblings who bring the children to and from school, sixty invitations for the sixty per-schoolers were circulated. Only twenty came to the large bright library at 2:00 o'clock on March 31, 1966. And, this was almost eight months after the program had begun. Immaculately dressed and scrubbed, the women curiously and cautiously took the seats that were provided for them here and there around the room. Several had infants and toddlers with them and they, too, remained amazingly quiet and well-behaved throughout the hour-long meeting.

The principal, a white middle-aged man, curtly welcomed the parents and expressed his hope that this parent group would evolve into a "child study group" where the parents help themselves with the school behind to support them. Immediately after his brief talk, he excused himself and left the meeting. What the principal said was appropriate and positive, but his presentation was cold and he seemed aloof. His brief introductory remarks created an uncomfortably tense atmosphere that was felt by the parents as they remained quiet and stiff while he was present, but relaxed as the parents voiced their opinions after his departure.

The assistant principal, a young attractive Negro woman, took over the meeting and presided until it ended. After introducing herself and warmly welcoming the parents, she made a few introductory comments about the other school personnel attending the meeting--the family assistant, the two pre-kindergarten teachers, the two volunteers and the research assistant. She then gave a brief explanation of Operation Head Start and the anti-poverty movement, with specific details regarding their program and plans to accelerate next year's kindergarten classes. Several mothers expressed an interest in and underscored the need for acceleration to guard against boredom due to repetition and to further challenge their children. An appeal was then made by the assistant principal for their help in reaching the most needy families of the community and relating to them this information about the pre-kindergarten program. The parents were again asked to express their opinions about the present pre-kindergarten program. Only one mother had responded to the principal's earlier questions, but now several mothers spoke up conveying positive sentiments about the program, with the remaining mothers nodding in agreement.

At the second and last meeting held on May 26, 1966, the family assistant who was given full responsibility of this parent group, presided. This middle-aged, local Negro woman did her best, but limited education and lack of leadership skills and experience affected her performance. This meeting was poorly attended by the school personnel--only one of the pre-kindergarten teachers and the assistant principal (who stayed for 15 minutes) were present.

These ungreeted parents (many with infants and toddlers) were detained for nearly half an hour, waiting for the meeting to start. As they waited in the unprepared library, restlessness was observed and discontent expressed. In addition to this, little was accomplished at the second meeting. Many of the suggestions and requests made by the parents at the previous meeting were ignored and not followed through.

Why was there no one to greet these interested parents as they arrived at school? Why was the library not set up ahead of time for the meeting? Why were these busy parents, with young children, detained for nearly half an hour? Why didn't the school follow through with what they promised to do at the first meeting? Why was there so little communication and rapport between the school personnel and the parents?

Unfortunately, answers to these disturbing questions are not readily available. But one can conclude that if the parent is so important and interested, the school has avoided a valuable resource. Not much, if any, thinking and planning was evidenced in parent-teacher school involvement. This neglected area cannot be overlooked if pre-school programs are to become effective.

SUMMARY:

"The Unfolding of a Harlem Pre-Kindergarten Program for Four Year Olds" is an intensive, descriptive account of the teacher, curriculum, daily happenings, behavior, school and parents of 15 children enrolled in a school program from October to June, 1966. Because of the existing dirth of specific information in this area, the detailed examination of this particular program was undertaken to help fill this blatant gap in our present store of knowledge. Essentially, this was done by looking, listening, asking questions and learning.

Since the teacher of young children must fulfill many demanding roles simultaneously, it is of crucial importance that she be a mature, well-qualified person with much knowledge and an equally pleasant disposition. After observing the teacher of this program for one year, it was obvious that she was a well-trained, experienced woman who enjoyed her work, had a good understanding of the laws of growth and development and possessed a great love of children. And she accomplished a great deal with these Harlem four year old children during the course of the school year.

Because of this woman's keen sensitivity, the curriculum gradually developed with great flexibility in accordance with the continuously changing needs of the children. In addition to satisfying some of their immediate needs, the long-range goals were also set up by creating a personally meaningful environment conducive to social, emotional and intellectual learning. This was accomplished, in part, by providing the children with many varied firsthand experiences which they had not

received at home. Later, when the children were ready for it, these experiences were further reinforced and intensified. Eventually, the play-oriented curriculum gave way to one in which instructing and developing skills were focal. Individual activities were largely replaced by group activities; unstructured, free play periods were converted into structured, goal directed activities, and informal learning through personal experiences was utilized to develop skills and impart knowledge.

At the onset of the year, these children were unable to come together as a group. They were restless, had high activity levels and very short attention spans. However, at the end of the year they could sit in a group and discuss, listen, sing and play games for an extended period of time. They now possessed a longer attention span, an increased language competency, a growing sense of responsibility and independence, and a rapidly expanding interest in the larger community in which they lived. All of these behavioral changes were noted not only in the daily classroom observation, but also on the improved performance of the test-retest results. Maturation and increase in age, as well as school experience, should be kept in mind when attempting to account for these changes in the children.

Like anywhere else, most of these parents love their children and want the best for them. Despite their relatively low educational backgrounds, many of them are highly motivated and interested in having their children succeed in school. However, their little understanding of growth and development and of the happenings within the classroom limits what they can do to help their children adjust and achieve in

school. But despite their many limitations, at least they are trying, but they need our help.

We have described one program. Obviously, one cannot nor dare not conclude that all other programs are comparable. We strove to learn, to see how such a program focuses. We feel that pre-school programs were hastily conceived and now are in need of concerted planning if they are to become enriching experiences. Evaluation such as we undertook is needed for the true state of affairs must be seen by all interested parties. In our report we did not follow-up "our" children through kindergarten, through school years to see how effective pre-school is, nor did we compare "our" children with four year old children who remained at home for the year. These questions await the inquiries and reports of others before a more final statement can be made on the pre-school program.

APPENDIX 1

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF CLASSROOM PERSONNEL

Teacher

Duration:	From October to June.
Education:	M.A. from Teachers College, Columbia University in Early Childhood Education.
Experience:	12 years teaching young children.
Description:	Negro woman, petite and attractive.
Function:	The main teacher in charge of the entire classroom. Assumed most of the teaching and worked individually with children.

Assistant Teacher

Duration:	From February to June.
Education:	B.A. in music education.
Experience:	1 year teaching music to fifth graders.
Description:	Negro man, tall, handsome, soft spoken and tender.
Function:	Took over minor teaching tasks; worked individually with the children; assumed much of the paper work--attendance record, office forms, etc.

Teacher Aide

Duration:	From February to June.
Background:	A mother from the surrounding impoverished community.
Description:	Negro woman, attractive but heavy set. In her mid-thirties.
Function:	In charge of keeping the room clean and setting up for the children's activities. Did not work with the children.

Volunteer 1

Duration:	From October to March (two days a week).
Background:	An unpaid volunteer from the Columbia University vicinity.
Description:	A maternal, kind looking, middle-aged Jewish woman.
Function:	Mainly worked with the children on an individual basis and was very much liked by them. Helped out on special days--parties and field trips.

Appendix 1 - continued.

Volunteer 2

Duration:	From October to June (almost daily).
Background:	A mother of one of the children enrolled in the program.
Description:	Negro woman, very heavy set but pleasant.
Function:	Primarily did custodial tasks; assisted on special days--parties and field trips.

There were also two local Negro women hired to serve and assist the children with the hot lunches which were given to them from February to June.

APPENDIX 2

EQUIPMENT AND MATERIALS

The equipment and materials available for this program are presented below along with comments and impressions.

Library Corner

This is one of the better equipped areas of the classroom, which includes a large and varied assortment of good picture books (approx. 60-70 books). The library is set apart from the other areas and has a round table and chairs inviting browsers. This area also houses various science materials such as plants, aquarium and terrarium--creating a peaceful and tranquil atmosphere.

Books bearing on the following interests were available:

Negro life and Negro people.
City living and city experiences.
Experiences of children and animals.
Mother Goose rhymes and folk tales.
Imaginary adventures of animals, toys and children.
Information about nature--stories about dogs, cats, birds, etc.
Information about mechanical things--trains, boats, steam shovels, etc.
Information about the community and community helpers--stores, policemen, firemen, mailmen, etc.

Science materials included the following:

Aquarium and terrarium.
Magnet and magnifying glass.
Turtles (one land and one water).
Materials brought in for study such as--seashells, stones, seeds, leaves, fruits and vegetables, flowers, etc.

Housekeeping Corner

The equipment in this area is somewhat inadequate although attractive and neat. Most of the girls spent the greater part of their free play periods in this area.

Below is a detailed list of the available equipment in this area:

Furniture: Stove, refrigerator, sink, closets, table and chairs, ironing board and two vanity dressers with mirrors.

Housekeeping materials: Cooking utensils, dishes, silverware and iron.

Doll equipment: Dolls, bed, carriage, covers and doll clothes (sparse).

Costume box: Hats, pocketbooks, high heels, and scarfs (very popular but inadequate, especially for boys).

Costume jewelry and play materials for shaving (very popular).

Two play phones (frequently used).

Block Corner

The small, relatively well equipped block area lacked in two major areas: (1) woodworking facilities and supplies, (2) equipment designed for gross motor development.

This area contained the following equipment:

Many solid blocks with unit and multiples of unit, cylinders, quarter circles, triangles, etc.
Transportation toys: Small trains, trucks, cars, airplanes, etc.
Wooden Negro and white dolls: Family members and community helpers.
A small work bench with a hammer and saw.
A see-saw and slide combination.

More space was badly needed in this area and large toys and materials, such as hollow blocks with movable boards, climbing apparatus and push toys.

Manipulating, Constructing and Art Materials

In these three related categories the supplies were adequate and diversified.

The materials available for manipulation were the following:

Nesting cups and rings.
Small colored blocks, cylinders, cubes, etc.
Beads and bead laces.
Dominoes.
Lotto matching games.
Peg boards and pegs.
Many diversified wooden puzzles.

Equipment and materials for construction and art work included:

A two-sided easel.
Finger painting materials.
Toys with large nuts, bolts, wrench, etc.
Tinker toys.
Varied collage materials.
Scissors, crayons, paper, glue.
Clay and plasticine.

Equipment for Music and Listening

No special part of the room was designated for these materials. They were kept according to the space available and the use of the specific piece of equipment.

Books (musical games, rhythms and songs).
Instruments: Piano (from February on).
Phonograph
Records (music appreciation, rhythms, songs and stories).
Wrist bells (20)
Chinese Tom-Tom (2)
Cymbals (3)
Hand Snares (2)
Maracas (4)
Rhythm Sticks (12-14)
Tambourine (2)
Triangles (3)

Indoor equipment for this program was varied, appropriate and in good condition. However, the lack of equipment and poor provision for outdoor play was appalling. The children were taken to the nearby park (slides and swings) or the school yard (with balls, jump ropes and hoops) for their outdoor play.

The following equipment is recommended for outdoor activities:

Climbing apparatus: Jungle gym, climbing frame or tree house.
Sandbox and sand toys.
Varied wheel toys: Wagon, wheelbarrows, tricycles, etc.
Large hollow blocks, boards and packing boxes.
Rocking boat.
Sled, stick horses.
Garden tools, seeds and bulbs.

Most of all, what is recommended is a play area of their own with grass, sand and trees.

Good outdoor facilities and equipment are especially needed for city pre-kindergarten programs. Roof tops can appropriately be converted into play areas for children.

APPENDIX 3

ATTENDANCE RECORD

Name	Date of Entry	Days Present	Days Absent
Boys			
Raymond	10/4/65	144	25
Mark	10/4/65	127	42
Timmy	10/4/65	151	18
Ralph	10/4/65	128	41
Martin	4/19/66	59	9*
Girls			
Kerry	10/4/65	111	58
Linda	10/4/65	123	46
Kathy	10/4/65	151	18
Maxine	10/4/65	149	20
Laura	10/4/65	154	15
Janet	10/13/65	126	38*
Sherry	10/4/65	136	33
Roberta	10/4/65	136	33
Christina	12/1/65	94	44*
Gloria	1/18/66	102	4*

*These are children that entered the program after the program was started.

APPENDIX 4

NUMBER OF BODY PARTS INCLUDED
IN DRAWINGS OF THE HUMAN FIGURE

This table shows the number of body parts that the Harlem children included in their drawings of a man in March and in June.

Name	Number of Body Parts Included	
	MARCH	JUNE
Boys		
Raymond	7	5
Mark	3	7
Timmy	5	5
Ralph	8	10
Girls		
Kerry	5	11
Linda	6	6
Kathy	7	12
Maxine	4	9
Laura	8	7
Janet	8	12
Sherry	5	4
Roberta	8	6
Christina	8	10

APPENDIX 5

REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES OF THE DRAW-A-MAN TEST

Examples of the Harlem drawings are included in plates 1 thru 6, while the Maine children are represented in plates 7 through 10.

PLATE 1 — One of the best drawings made by the Harlem children. It includes many details and the proportional relationship between body parts is very good.

PLATE 2 — An example of a very distorted drawing. The body parts labelled were indicated by the child as she was drawing.

PLATES 3,4,5,6 — These four plates contain representative examples of the drawings made by the Harlem children. Note the relatively poor proportion given to the various parts of the body and the exaggerated, minimized or omitted items in these drawings.

PLATE 7 — A representative drawing made by a Maine child with nursery school experience. Compare this well proportioned human figure with the figures of the four previous plates.

PLATES 8,9 — Two drawings made by Maine children without nursery school experience. Although less sophisticated than the previous drawing, note the realistic proportional relationship between the various parts of the body.

PLATE 10 — One of the three (out of ten) drawings made by the Maine children that were incomplete, yet the few parts included are given a good proportional relationship with one another.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HARLEM

June drawing

Janet

Plate 1

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HARLEM
MARCH drAW
by Christin

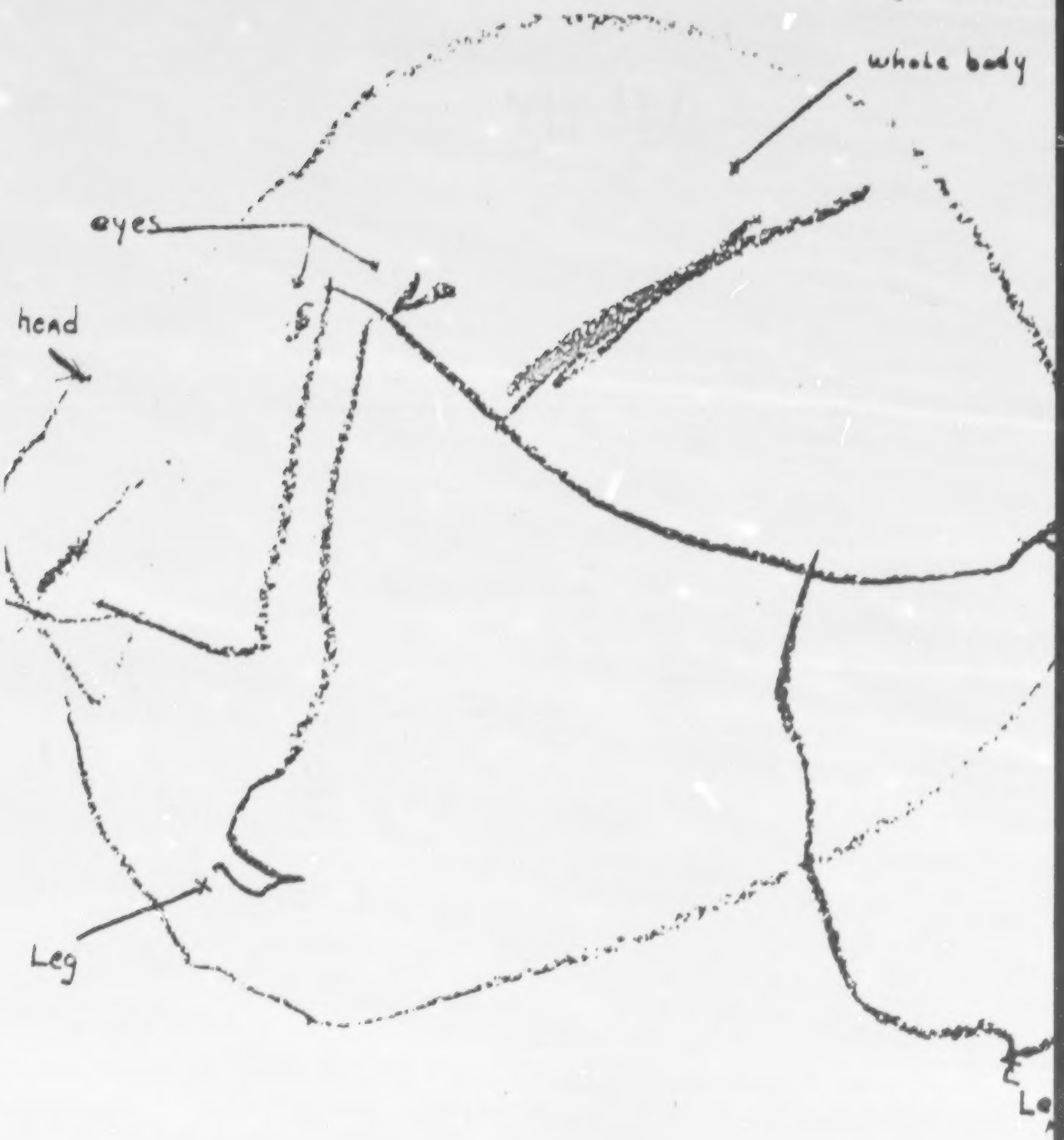


PLATE 2

HARLEM

June drawing
Maxine

PLATE 3

HARLEM

June drawin

KERRY

PLATE 11

HARLEM

MARCH DRAWING

LINDA

PLATE 5

HARLEM

June drawing by

Sherry

PLATE 6

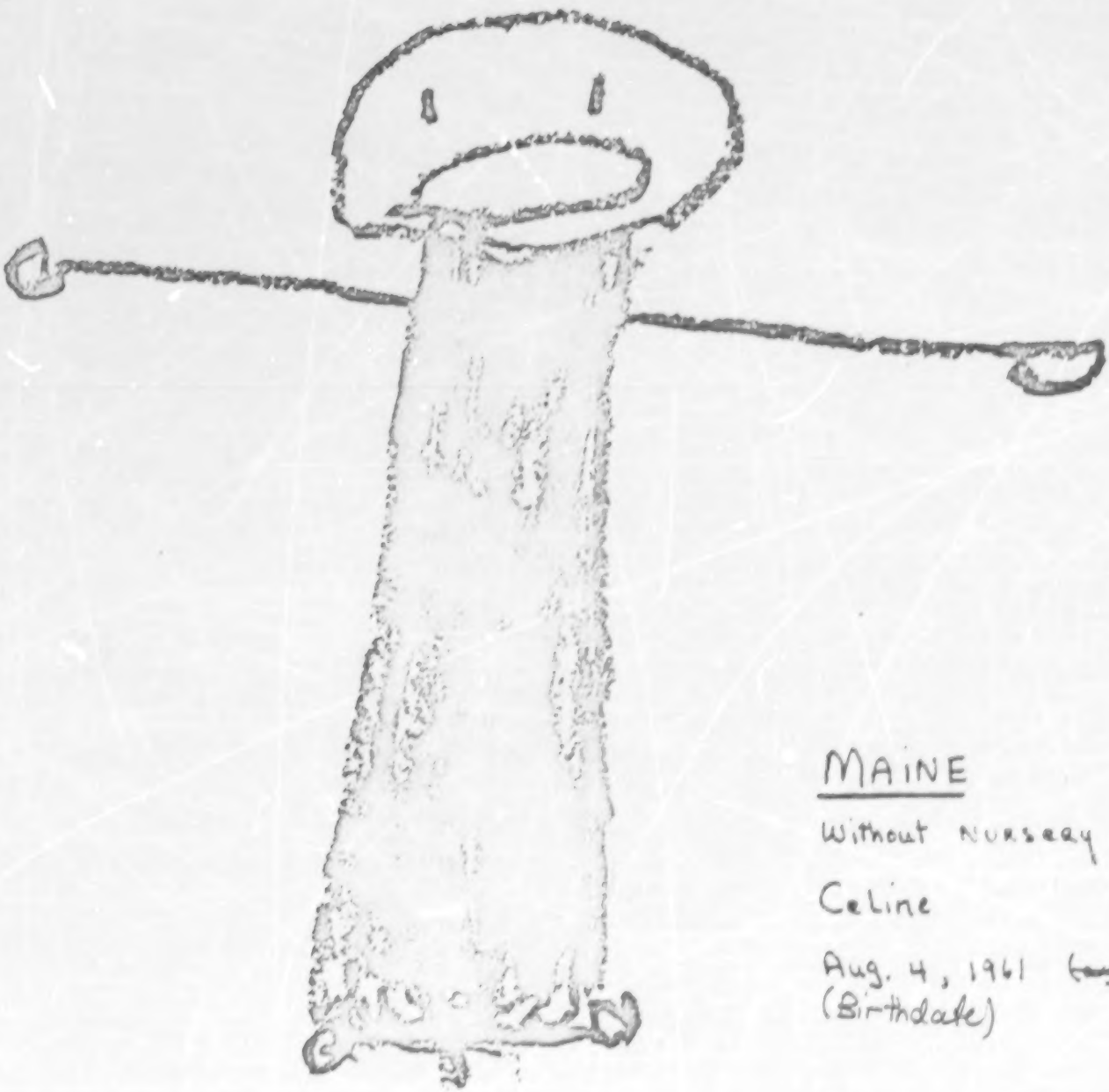
MAINE

With Nursery sch

LAURA

Aug. 21, 1961. C
(Birthdate)

PLATE 7



MAINE

Without Nursery school

Celine

Aug. 4, 1961 ~~(age)~~
(Birthdate)

PLATE 8

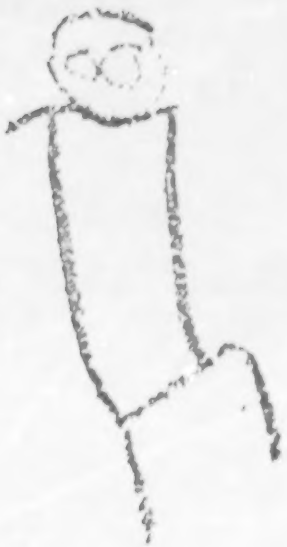
MAINE

Without Nursery School

Philip

Dec. 24, 1960
(Birthdate)

PLATE 9



MAINE
With nursery school

BILLY

Feb. 28, 1961
Birthdate

PLATE 10

APPENDIX 6

SOCIOGRAMS

legend:

boy
girl
one way choice
mutual choice

Figure 1: March test

Figure 2: June test

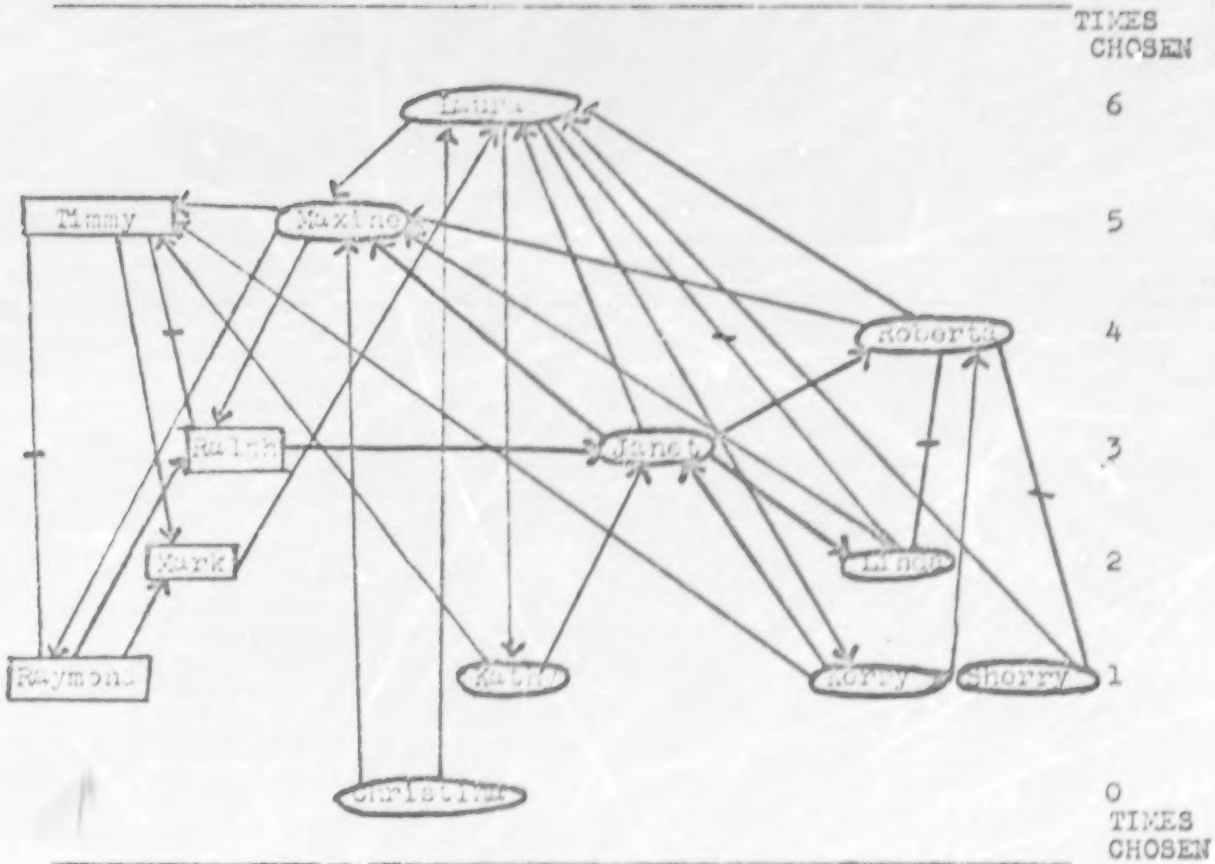


Fig. 1. Sociogram of positive spontaneous and free choices in March test.

GLORIA, the shy, little girl who refused to be retested in June, in March preferred to play with ROBERTA, LAURA, and KATHY; she in turn, was chosen by CHRISTINA and MARK.

legend:

boy
girl
one way choice
mutual choice

Figure 2: June test

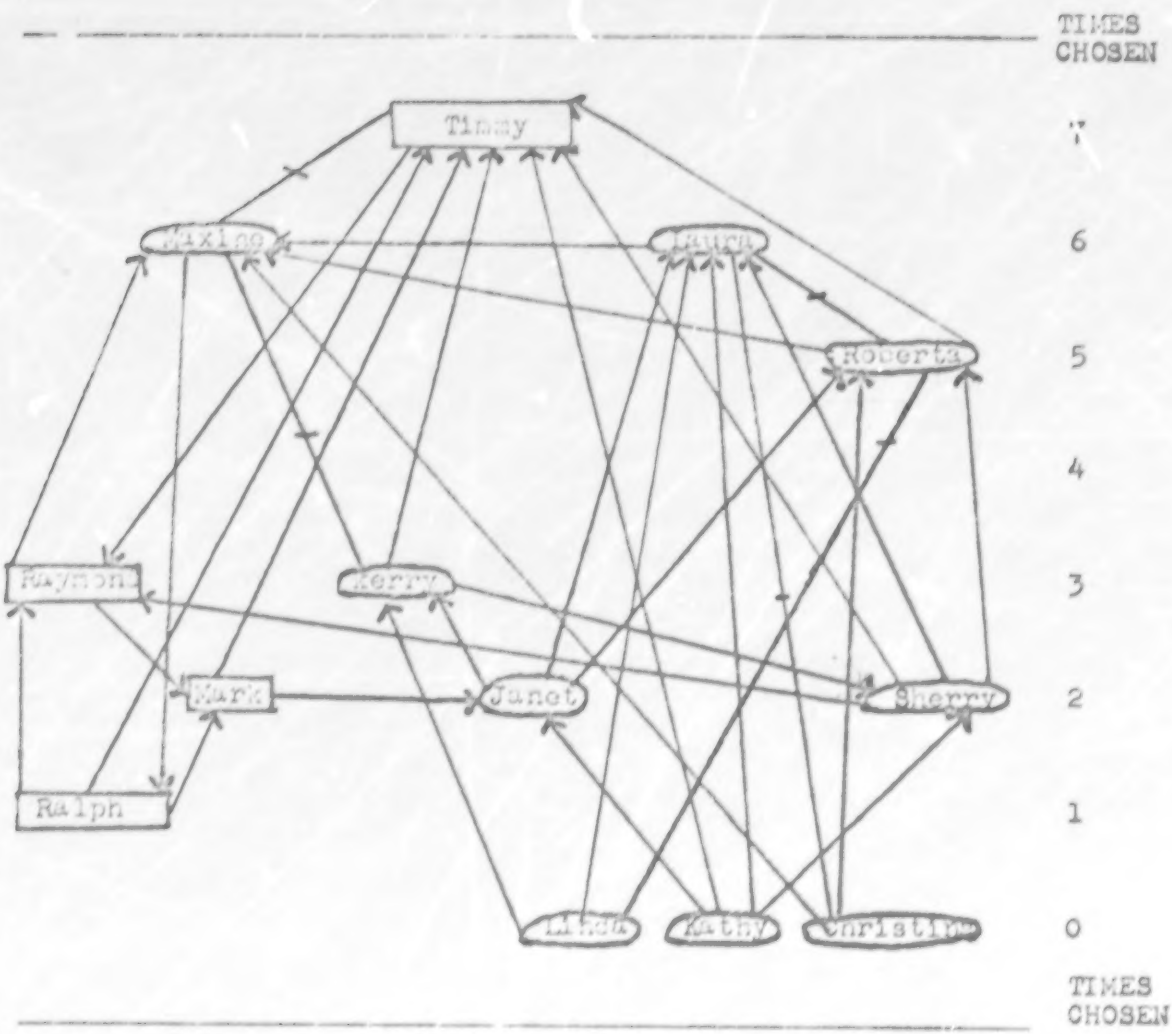


Fig. 2: Sociogram of positive spontaneous and free choices in June test.

GLORIA, in June was chosen by only LAURA.

MARTIN, the new child who joined the group in April, was not chosen by any of the children.